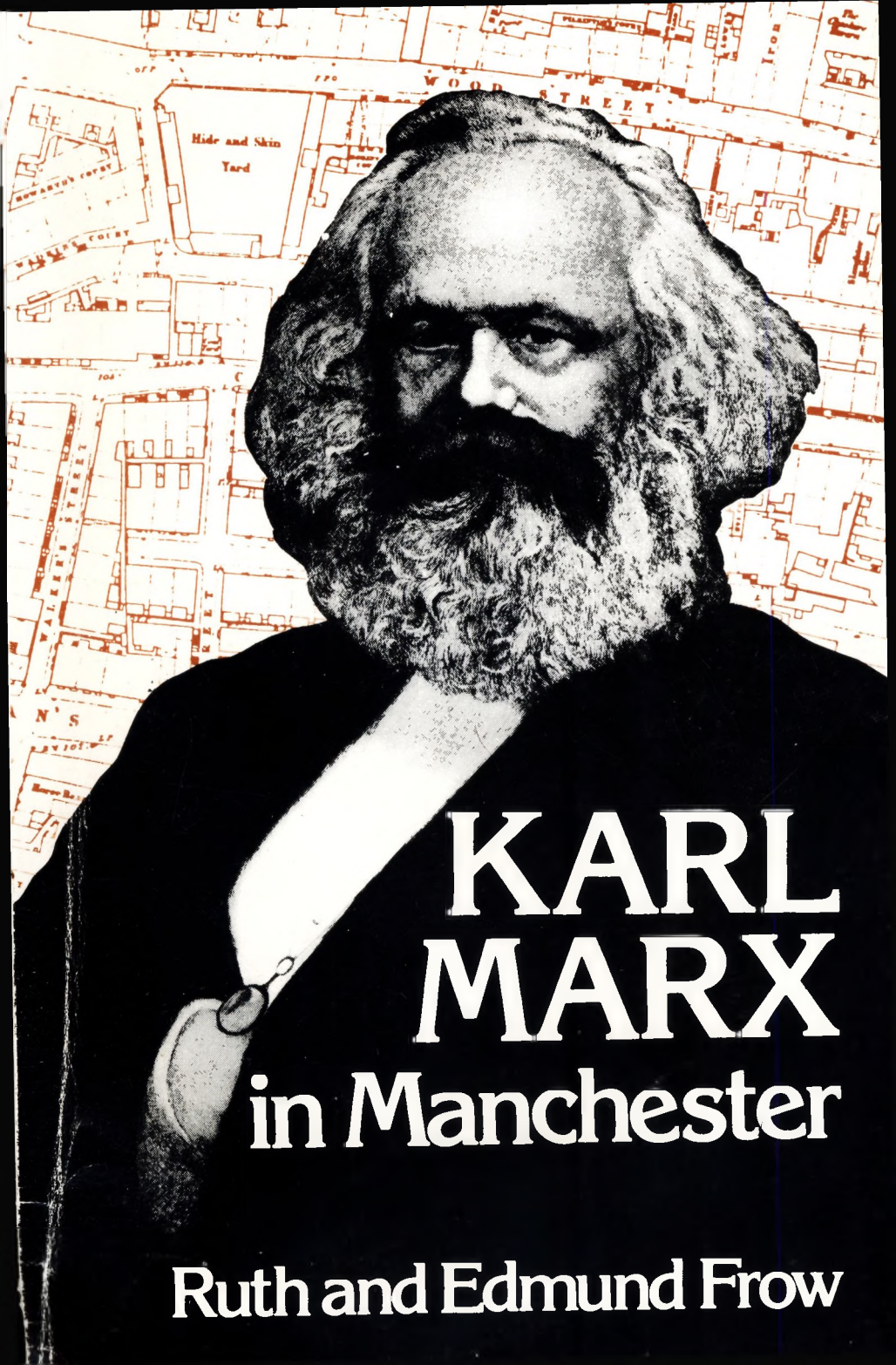

KARL MARX in Manchester

Ruth and Edmund Frow

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INTRODUCTION

At the Marx Centenary Exhibition at Manchester Central Reference Library, it became clear that Marx had visited the City more often than had been realised. We therefore researched the available material and found a fascinating story which confirms the co-operation and friendship between Marx and Engels. Not only did they collaborate in work, but thoroughly enjoyed each other's company.

We were fortunate in being able to use the extensive research conducted by Roy Whitfield into the life that Frederick Engels lived in Manchester in association with Mary and Elizabeth Burns. Marx's visits slotted into the tale that Roy Whitfield has unveiled.

We are grateful for valuable assistance from Mrs Heidi Johnson and Dr Len Jones for translating German texts. Mrs Rosie Rudich of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Berlin read the text and made many suggestions which have been incorporated in the final draft.

Old Trafford, October, 1984

Karl Marx In Manchester

During the period that Frederick Engels lived in Manchester, Karl Marx was a frequent visitor. He travelled North at least once in most years and occasionally made more than one journey. He formed connections in the City which continued after Engels had left to live in London. This association with the heart of the industrial revolution has not always been appreciated. Marx is sometimes falsely presented as the typical academic, remote from reality, with head down in the British Museum. However, he obviously felt the need to discuss problems with Engels and see for himself how 'the other half' lived.

Marx's first visit to Manchester took place in July and August, 1845. The previous year, in August 1844, he had received a visit from Frederick Engels, then on his way back to Germany after spending nearly two years learning the 'trade' of a cotton merchant at the family firm in Salford. Salford and Manchester are twin towns on the banks of the River Irwell. Although Salford is the older and was the medieval centre of the region, it is often assumed to be a part of Manchester which has overtaken it in size and importance. Engels had met Marx briefly when he was on his way to England in 1842. But it was in Paris in 1844 that they realised their mutual compatability and cemented the friendship that continued throughout their lives.

Marx and Engels liked each other. They enjoyed being together and, as Engels wrote, "When I visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844, our complete agreement in all theoretical fields became evident and our joint work dates from that time".[1] From then, they worked in collaboration exchanging ideas and plans which often took shape during Marx's visits to Manchester and

Engels' periods in London, frequently over the Christmas holiday.

When the two men travelled to England in 1845, they presented a contrast. Marx was thick-set and swarthy with a full black beard whilst Engels was tall and slim with a military bearing which together with his knowledge of military matters earned him the nickname of 'General'.

Marx was a born leader,[2] a man of extensive erudition and a confirmed 'bookworm'. He had mastered Hegel's dialectics, read classical literature, both ancient in the original Latin and Greek and modern. He had begun to study Political Economy and his main object in visiting England was to increase his knowledge.

Engels was a young man with a tremendous zest for life. He had wide cultural interests particularly in art, painting, travel and sport. He was a linguist with a number of languages at his command and he extended his interests to philosophy and journalism. In addition he enjoyed long walks and spent much of his leisure time riding, fencing and swimming. His nickname arose not only from his appearance, but also because he made himself an expert in military history and tactics. Lafargue characterised him as, "my ever laughing Engels".[3] These two very different personalities with similar intellectual interests and, to some extent, complementary tastes, worked together in Manchester on many occa-

The Owenite Hall of Science at Campfield.

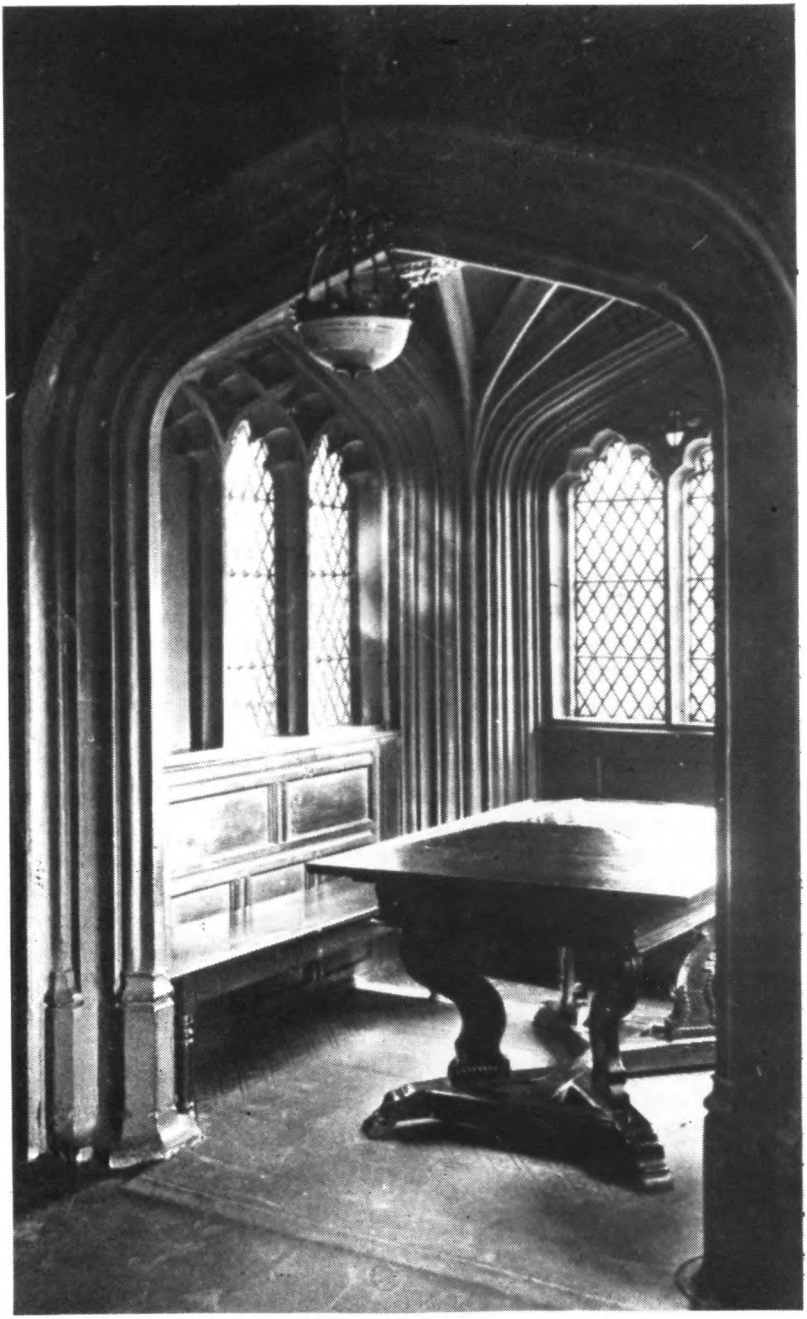
sions discussing plans and sorting out problems in the light of the practical situation in which the working class of the North-West lived.

During Engels' two years in Manchester from 1842-44, he had worked both in the factory and the office of Ermen and Engels. He had met the Owenite and Chartist leaders and become friendly with George Julian Harney,[4] James Leach [5] and John Watts.[6] He went to the Hall of Science[7] and Carpenters' Hall[8] where he met rank and file participants in the working class movements. Moreover, he had met and fallen in love with Mary Burns,[9] a young Irish patriot, who had helped him to explore Manchester collecting material for his book on *The Condition Of The Working Class In England In 1844*.[10] When he and Marx travelled to Manchester in 1845, he renewed his friendship with Mary and took her back with him to the Continent.

While Engels had his personal reason for wanting to visit Manchester, Marx had other ideas. He told his publisher later that the journey had been taken exclusively for research for his book on political economy. Engels wrote, "At that time Marx had never yet been in the Reading Room of the British Museum. Besides the libraries of Paris and Brussels, besides my books and extracts seen during a six weeks' journey in England we made in the summer of 1845, he had only examined such books as were procurable in Manchester".[11]

The main source of information in Manchester was at Chetham's Library. This had been founded in 1653 by Humphrey Chetham, a local merchant in a building close to the Cathedral. There were more than twenty-five thousand volumes and it was considered to be one of the best collections in the country.[12] The friends spent happy hours working there and over twenty years later, Engels wrote to Marx, "During the last few days I have again spent a good deal of time sitting at the four-sided desk in the alcove where we sat together twenty-four years ago. I am very fond of the place. The stained glass window ensures that the weather is always fine there. Old Jones,[13] the librarian, is still alive but he is very old and no longer active. I have not seen him on this occasion..."[14]

The material that Marx collected with Engels and 'old Jones" assistance was collected in many notebooks and added to the work that he had done in Brussels. This was soon put to good use in his reply to Proudhon's[15] *The Philosophy of Poverty*. Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* was published in Paris and Brussels in 1847. In that work, Marx treated value as human labour embodied in commodities. Value was determined by the quantity of labour



The Table in the alcove at Chethams Library.

time socially necessary for the production of the commodity.

Marx not only added to his knowledge of political economy during his 1845 visit, he also studied and became appreciative of the contribution of the early English Socialists. He commented on one occasion, "We shall content ourselves with listening to an English Communist, Mr Bray... in his remarkable work, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy*"[16].

As well as improving his theoretical knowledge in Manchester, Marx met Engels' friends and acquaintances and through him as interpreter, discussed ideas current among the working class. He met leaders of the National Charter Association which had been formed in Manchester in 1840 and, no doubt, began to learn the language of which at that time he was not yet master.

On their return to the Continent, both Marx and Engels became involved in the revolutionary movements that took place between 1845 and 1849. As a result, Marx was expelled from Paris in August 1849 and moved to London where, in November, he was joined by Engels. Together they laid plans for the publication of a journal aimed to serve the "propaganda interests" of the German refugee communists in London and New York. After struggling to raise money and regularise production of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[17] it became apparent that they could not succeed. The Review was the joint work of Marx and Engels with many of the articles being written by Engels. In addition to the failure of the journal, it became obvious that the revolution which they had confidently expected in the immediate future, would not take place. Their increasing knowledge of political economy made them realise that they had misinterpreted signs of an imminent economic crisis which would act as a catalyst. They had, therefore to settle down to a prolonged period of hard, slogging, basic organisation and education before the working class would be in a position to change society.

Engels became convinced that Marx had to devote himself to study so that his leadership of the movement would be of maximum value. To do that he had to be relieved of the necessity to earn enough to keep his wife and increasing family. Engels therefore agreed to resume his "damned business" activity in Manchester in order to assist Marx and his family.

The Manchester to which Frederick Engels returned in 1850 was not significantly different from that which he and Marx had explored in 1845 and which he had described in *The Condition of the Working Class in England.* "The shameful lay-out of the Old Town has made it impossible for the wretched inhabitants to enjoy cleanliness, fresh air, and good health. And such a district of at

Ermen and Engels Factory at Weaste in the 1960s.

least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants lies in the very centre of the second city in England, the most important factory town in the world. It is here that one can see how little space human beings need to move about in, how little air—and what air! —they need to breathe in order to exist, and how few of the decencies of civilisation are really necessary in order to survive."[18]

There was, however, a growing awareness of the need to do something about it. In May, 1847, the recently formed Town Council voted £3,000 to clean up some of the worst aspects. 112 men with 50 horses, carts and drivers were engaged to clear privies and ashpits. By the end of the operation the cost had run to £8,000 of which £2,500 had been recovered by the sale of manure.

Although the population of Manchester was described in *The New Moral World*[19] as more distinguished for its activity in popular movements than any other town in the empire, things were changing. Thomas Cooper, the Chartist, noted, "In our old Chartist time, it is true, Lancashire working men were in rags by thousands; and many of them often lacked food. But their intel-

ligence was demonstrated wherever you went. You could see them in groups discussing the great doctrine of political justice—that every grown-up, sane man ought to have a vote in the election of the men who were to make the laws by which he was to be governed; or they were in earnest dispute respecting the teachings of socialism. Now, you will see no such groups in Lancashire. But you will hear well-dressed working men talking, as they walk with their hands in their pockets, of 'Co-ops' (Co-operative Stores), and their shares in them, or in Building Societies."[20]

Following the 1851 Great Exhibition, Britain was acknowledged as the workshop of the world. While her competitors were developing their industries, British goods were pouring into the world markets. With the decline of the Chartist Movement, there grew up unions of skilled workers and the Co-operative Movement. Engels found that his friend, John Watts who had been the missionary at the Owenite Hall of Science when he left, had become a "completely radical philistine who accepts Proudhon as his Lord and Master."[21] The chartist, James Leach had become an enthusiastic supporter of the Co-operative Movement while the Hall of Science had, with Watts help, been bought and set up as the first municipal library with over twenty thousand volumes. Since the census of 1851 gave a population figure of over three hundred thousand, Manchester could be said to have laid the basis of popular culture and education on a firm foundation. At a different level, the small beginnings of the university manifested itself in five professors and two teachers who started work in Cobden's old house in Quay Street, in 1851 as Owen's College.[22]

At that early period, Engels could only count on the personal friendship of George Weerth[23] apart, of course, from his wife, Mary Burns and her sister, Elizabeth. He wrote to Joseph Weydemeyer[24] in New York in January, 1852. "I am settled here in Manchester for the present, luckily in a position which, besides much independence, affords me various advantages; Marx and other friends occasionally come up from London to see me and so long as Weerth is in Bradford, we arrange a regular shuttle-service between here and there, as the railway journey only takes 2½ hours."[25] Wilhelm Wolff[26] joined Engels in Manchester in September 1853.

Although Engels looked on his stay in Manchester as being temporary and was ready to seize any opportunity that might present itself to escape from his business career, in fact, he continued to live in the City and work in the Ermen and Engels office at 7, Southgate for the twenty years which followed his return. During that time he led a dual life. Most of his time he spent with

the Burns sisters in homes which he rented for their use under a pseudonym.[27] Mary and Elizabeth ran several boarding houses, taking in lodgers to occupy their spare rooms thus contributing to the communal income and indirectly to the Marx family. But Engels also lived the life of a German businessman hunting with the Cheshire Hunt and belonging to the ex-patriot German clubs. For those acquaintances he needed a room separate from his family house and so he rented accommodation in his own name to which he could invite his 'philistine friends'.[28] Marx, on his visits, sometimes stayed in Engels' rooms, sometimes in the family home and, when accompanied by his wife, Jenny, he stayed at a boarding house.

Although Marx and Engels frequently exchanged ideas and information as their voluminous correspondence[29] testifies, they

Karl Schorlemmer.

also needed personal discussion. During the twenty years that Engels lived in Manchester, Marx visited him at least twenty times.[30] His visits tended to be undertaken for three main reasons; the first was for discussion and joint work with Engels; the second was to repair his frequent ill-health and to consult Dr Gumpert[31] for medical advice and the third, and possibly the most important, was to escape from the cares and tensions of his life in London and relax in the company of the jovial Engels.

Less than six months after Engels left London to settle in Manchester Marx made a visit. On 2 April, 1851 he wrote, "I shall be coming in any case to see you at the end of April. I must get away from here for a week. You would oblige me if you wrote to me as often as possible. As you know my acquaintanceship here is confined to more or less stupid youngsters."[32] Engels replied sending a five pound note cut in half and despatched in separate envelopes and enclosed details of the train service. He ended by saying "Then from Friday to Monday we could make a tour of the neighbourhood. Anyhow write and tell me by return whether you're coming and by what train. I shall then be at the station. All else I'll leave for verbal discussion."[33]

Six months later, Marx made a second visit to Manchester, apparently in some haste as he wrote to Engels on his return to London, "I know you yourself are now feeling the pinch and my sudden descent, my razzia on Manchester has made things even tighter for you. Nevertheless I must ask you in an emergency could you lay your hands on another £2?"[34] Engels' finances had been regularised when his father had travelled to Manchester that summer. Pleased with the work that his son had done in showing how Peter Ermen had used his capital and "enchanted" by his business letters, Mr Engels, senior, settled a £200 annual allowance[35] on him. Peter Ermen left the firm soon after and the Ermen interest was continued through Godfrey and the younger members of the family.

Marx's finances continued to be in dire straits although he had obtained a commission from Dana[36] of the *New York Daily Tribune* to write articles for the paper. At that stage, in August 1851, his English was not sufficiently fluent to enable him to carry out that work, so Engels, a gifted linguist stepped into the breach and wrote nineteen articles. These were sent to Dana in Marx's name and the remuneration for them helped to keep away the wolf which spent many hopeful hours sitting at his door.

Marx's intense work when he spent as long as ten hours at a stretch in the British Museum must have contributed to his chronic ill-health. He wrote to Engels in January, 1852, "This time

my piles have afflicted me more grievously than the French Revolution".[37] Occasionally, when Marx was too ill to write, Jenny did so for him. She said on that occasion "After a week of strenuous nocturnal labours his eyes are so wretchedly sore that he cannot possibly write to you".[38]

During 1852, much of Marx's time was taken up with the campaign for the defence of members of the Communist League who were on trial in Cologne.[39] During that year he also wrote *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*[40] Engels had planned a series of articles about 'continental democracy' for publication in Julian Harney's Chartist weekly, *Friend of The People.*[41] However, the plan was abandoned because of Harney's association with the Willi Schapper[42] group. In the spring of 1852 a new plan was proposed for a joint work on that theme. Engels wrote to Marx in May, "It would be best for you to come at Whitsun when there are general holidays here. If the weather is fine we can go to the Isle of Man [43] or somewhere, and if it is bad we can work. But mind you come on your own. I should be very glad to see Dronkius later on but have no time for him just now and he would disturb our work."[44] A few days later he added, "You must be here by Friday afternoon so we can leave for Liverpool at about 6 o'clock the same evening."[45]

During the month that Marx spent with Engels, he probably stayed with him in his room at 70 Great Ducie Street, Strangeways because he wrote several letters from that address. It was very convenient for working at Chetham's Library as it would only have taken a few minutes to walk there. During most of that visit they were working on the final draft of their joint work, *The Great Men Of The Exile.*[46] This was a satirical exposure of the Willie Schapper group who had split the Communist League in 1850. Marx told his wife that "the process of curing these stock-fish makes us laugh till we cry."[47]

In the following year, Marx was in poor health. Jenny wrote to Adolph Cluss in March, "For weeks my dear Karl has been indisposed and during the past few days has suffered from his old liver complaint... today he is better again."[48] In a letter to Engels Marx said, "This week I was within an inch of kicking the bucket".[49] Engels response was to persuade him that a visit to Manchester was the best cure for his ills. "The sooner you come the better" he said, "the bedroom in my house is ready."[50] This was a new departure. Engels and the Burns girls had taken a house, 17 Burlington Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, which was rented in the name of Frederick Mann Burns. The girls let out rooms and advertised vacancies in the local press. Engels still retained his room in

Great Ducie Street for 'philistine' visitors, but Marx was one of the family.

To make certain that Marx came, Engels sent him a further letter saying, "On May 2nd you will receive the £10 without fail. Write and tell me whether you will be able to come and do come if at all possible, then you can send the money to your wife yourself. Keep me informed so that I will not be out of the way when you arrive. Peter Ermen's old library will be at our disposal".[51] Marx duly arrived and spent three weeks relaxing and working with Engels. Ermen's Library may have been used by Frederick when he arrived in Manchester as a young man in 1842 and probably stayed for a time with his father's partner. Peter Ermen lived in Gore Crescent close to the mill in Weaste. After his retirement from the firm in 1852, he retired to Ashfields in Tanner Lane, Salford. The reference to the 'old' library looks as if it had not been transferred to Ashfields when Ermen moved.

He greatly appreciated the opportunity of discussions. Later that year he wrote, "What annoys me is that we are now unable to work and laugh together... the only thing that vexes me is our not being able to work and have fun together."[52] During 1854 when he missed his usual visit, he must have felt deprived, especially as 1855 proved to be a very bad year for the Marx family.

At the beginning of April, their eight year old son, Edgar (Musch) who was a gifted boy with "magnificent eyes and a promising head"[53] died. The Marx family had been living in extreme poverty in Dean Street, Soho and they had been unable to save the little boy who had been sickly from birth. Edgar was the third Marx child to die and, as the surviving son, he was the apple of his parents' eyes. The blow was devastating. Marx developed fearful headaches which deprived him of all powers of thought, sight and hearing, whilst Jenny was prostrate with grief. The household plunged into despair and hopelessness. Marx wrote immediately to inform Engels telling him that the boy had fallen asleep in his arms and warning him that it might be best to take Jenny away for a few days to help her over the shock. He said that if they came they would "of course, stay at an inn (or perhaps take private lodgings)".[54] The following week, Marx again wrote that he was thinking of travelling to Manchester with his wife for a week because "she must have a change of scene for a few days."[55] The loss knocked Marx as well as Jenny." Needless to say," he wrote, "the house has been very desolate and bereft since the death of the dear child who was its life and soul. I cannot tell you how we miss the child at every turn. I've already had my share of bad luck but only now do I know what real unhappiness is. I feel broken down."[56]

Manchester Athenaeum.

They stayed from 19 April until 6 May 1855 probably at 34, Butler Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock. It would have been convenient for Engels' house which was at 27 Cecil Street. The visit did not help Mrs Marx overmuch because she had to take to her bed on her return to London. However, in July, the family moved to a cottage in Camberwell, then in the country. A German Communist Peter Imandt,[57] lent it to them whilst he spent some time in Scotland. But the country air did not help Marx much because he was sued in a lawsuit by Dr Freund, the family physician and was forced to take refuge in Manchester. Marx explained to Engels that, "Like the Russians, I have been compelled by a force superieure to evacuate the Southern side,[58] without however blowing everything up behind me. Indeed my garrison will remain quietly here, whither I also propose to return in a week or so".[59] Meanwhile, he travelled to Manchester and asked Engels to consider him as incognito. "Don't let anyone know about my presence—Lupus,[60] of course excepted, should you by chance see him."[61]

From 12 September 1955 until early December, Marx lived

at 34 Butler Street. This prolonged stay gave the friends opportunities for discussion and collaboration which resulted in a particularly prolific number of articles. They were both involved in commenting on and analysing events connected with the Crimean War. Engels wrote several articles looking closely at the state of the military forces and the conduct of the campaigns while Marx concentrated on articles relating international affairs to the economic situation. In one joint article published in German in early September and reprinted in English in the New York papers in October, attention was drawn to the Manchester scene, "the prejudice that industry and commerce destroy the martial character of a people may now inform himself of the contrary in England, and even in Manchester, its industrial metropolis."[62] Nationalistic chauvinism was evident and Marx, being in the North West was able to write from first hand knowledge.

The relationship between Dana in New York and Marx had been unsatisfactory for some time. Whilst staying with Engels he wrote a letter asking for new conditions for his co-operation with the New York Daily Tribune. He proposed that he should write two articles each week and that he should receive ten dollars for each. Dana agreed with this suggestion.

Marx found that the best place to work was at the Athenaeum which he called "virtually the only home of the muses in Manchester".[63]

During the three months, Marx met a number of German ex-patriots whom he called "friends as well as adversaries".[64] He wrote to Maurice Elsner[65] in Breslau that he had passed on his letter to them. He also renewed his acquaintance with George Weerth who had returned from a tour of Europe and recounted his experiences to them. Wilhelm Wolf and Dr Borchardt[66] also spent time in discussion with him.

When Marx returned to London early in December, the family had again taken up residence in Dean Street, but the memories of little Edgar filled the house and he commented long after they had moved that even finding himself in the neighbourhood by chance, filled him with melancholy.

Karl Marx suffered ill health for much of his life. He experienced appalling living conditions in extreme poverty which only the generosity of Engels and other friends relieved from time to time. But after the death of little Musch, he seemed to be subject to even worse health than usual. The shock seriously affected his nerves and he had a succession of liver complaints, congestion of the lung and many painful boils and carbuncles. In June 1856, he announced to Engels that he planned to travel to Scotland with his

friend Wilhelm Pieper[67] who sometimes acted as his secretary. They were to stay with Peter Imandt and then to call in Manchester on their way South again. However, the plans were changed and instead of travelling to Scotland by sea, they went from London to Hull and thence by train to Manchester. Marx was convinced that the sea air would do him good. He said, "I know that the sea journey will help me to pull my socks up".[68]

While Pieper returned to London from Hull, Marx spent nearly two months staying at Butler Street. During that period, Jenny Marx received a message that her mother, Catherine Von Westphalen[69] was seriously ill and she left London to go to Trier to see her.

Marx felt her departure badly and wrote on 21 June, "There are, of course, many women in the world, and some of them are beautiful. But where would I find another face whose every feature, even a wrinkle reawakes in me the strongest and sweetest memories of my life? I read on your sweet countenance even my endless sufferings and my irreparable losses, and I kiss away the pain when I kiss your sweet face."[70] When Marx returned to London at the end of July, it was to an empty house. Jenny and the children did not get back from Germany until September.

Marx's health remained unsatisfactory. Possibly his intense work in the British Museum during 1857 when he filled a number of notebooks on economics over-strained him. Engels, meanwhile had made good use of the hunter which his father gave him for a Christmas present. On the last day of 1857, he wrote that he had greatly enjoyed seven hours in the saddle with the Cheshire Hunt. Marx was terrified that his fearless riding would lead to a bad accident, but Engels was an excellent rider. He was always among the leaders in the hunt. He regarded horsemanship as the "material basis of his military studies"[71] and boasted that if ever he saw action again in Germany, he would give the gentlemen of the Prussian Cavalry a lesson in horsemanship.

When Marx wrote, in English, to Engels in May telling him that he intended travelling to Manchester by the Great Northern which left London at 2 and arrived at Manchester at 7p.m. Engels was overjoyed and made certain that a room in his house was prepared and that he was at the station to meet him. Grove House, Moss Side was a large double fronted semi-detached residence in Moss Lane where Mary and Elizabeth were running a boarding house. The friends were able to work for about three weeks while they sorted out problems that Marx had encountered in writing the Grundisse.[72]

However, Frederick Engels had no intention of allowing

Marx to overwork. He insisted that he took exercise especially on horseback. He wrote a letter to Jenny Marx telling her that "Moor has been riding for two hours and has been so invigorated by it that he is beginning to feel enthusiastic about the cause".[73] Engels' treatment worked and by the time Marx returned to London at the end of May, he had forgotten his headaches and his toothache and was restored to good health. Karl Liebknecht[74] commented that when Marx complained of various symptoms towards the end of the fifties, the doctor forbade night work and recommended exercise. However, as soon as he felt better, he reverted to his bad habits again and his constitution became increasingly undermined.

The following year, 1859, Marx again spent part of the

6, Thorncliffe Road.

summer, in June, with Engels at Grove House. They were deeply involved in writing an article to be published in *Das Volk* magazine.[75] During the later 1850's Engels' own health suffered. He had glandular fever in 1857 and after a holiday in the Isle of Wight, he had a relapse which meant that he could only work half a day in the office. In spite of being fit enough to hunt, he seems to have had indifferent health during 1858 and 1859 and by May 1860, his brother Emil travelled to Manchester to discuss the partnership situation with Godfrey Ermen. Frederick Engels senior died in March of that year. Emil was able to make arrangements with Ermen which paved the way for an eventual partnership. The financial position improved and Engels felt free to play a more active part in the social and cultural life of the town.

The German business community had a thriving social life and Engels entered into it. He became Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Schiller Anstalt[76] as well as serving on the committee of the Albert Club.[77] He also helped to raise over a thousand pounds to provide comforts for the Germans wounded in the Franco-Prussian war and sat on a committee of the Society For The Relief of Really Deserving Distressed Foreigners.

During the 1860's Engels widened his circle of acquaintances. Some of his Saturday evenings were spent at the Thatched House Tavern[78] whence he had been invited by Karl Schorlemmer[79] whom he met at the Schiller Anstalt. The company consisted of young German scientists most of whom were working in the chemical industry which was rapidly developing in the North West.

Although Engels called his middle class friends 'philistines', some of them crossed the domestic boundary and were accepted into the home which he shared with Mary Burns until her death in 1863 and after with Elizabeth (Lydia) and her niece, Pumps (Mary Ellen Burns). Schorlemmer was one who was an intimate friend and shared excursions and outings with the family. Later, through Samuel Moore,[80] Engels met John Roche Dakyns,[81] a geologist with whom both he and Marx became very close.

In 1860, there was dissension in the Communist League fomented by a police spy called Karl Vogt.[82] His aim was to discredit the League and its paper, *Das Volk*. Marx realised the importance of countering the slanderous attack and exposing Vogt, as the spearhead of an organised attack on the revolutionary Party. He began to collect the necessary background material in January and from mid-February to the end of March, he spent in Manchester in order to discuss the situation both with Engels and

Eleanor Marx.

Wilhelm Wolff. Together they wrote letters to friends on the continent to obtain information and basic documents. They also studied the material in the archive of Communist ephemera which Engels kept. Then they planned a polemical pamphlet, published later in 1860, in which Marx aimed to convey to people the concept of incorruption in the working-class Party and to offset the attempts to defile it. Vogt was exposed not only as the charlatan and liar which he undoubtedly was, but also as the tool of the police authorities. The pamphlet was brilliant and has been acknowledged as one of the best pieces of satirical writing ever published. In a letter to Marx in December, 1860, Engels wrote, "It is certainly the best polemical work you have ever written."[83]

Following the Vogt affair, Marx settled down to serious work on his manuscript, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*[84] This monumental work was an epitome of the material which eventually became Volume I of *Capital.* The compilation

and reorganisation of this work took nearly two years from August 1861 to July 1863.

Marx decided to attend the British Association for the Advancement of Science meetings which began in Manchester in the Free Trade Hall on Monday 2 September. On Friday 6th, he listened to a paper given by William Newmarch F.R.S. It was read in Section F, Economic Science and Statistics "On the extent to which sound principles of taxation are embodied in the legislation of the United Kingdom". At the same session, John Watts spoke on strikes in industry and Edmund Potter on Co-operative Societies. It was probably held in the Portico Library[85] in Mosley Street. The different sections met there to be distributed among the available meeting places. Speaking to the General Council of The International Working Men's Association[86] in London in June, 1865, Marx referred to Newmarch's lecture. He commented that the pundits of economic science such as Mr Newmarch, Dr Senior and Dr Ure had all been wrong in forecasting the doom of industry if hours of work were reduced without wages also being cut. He pointed out that Robert Owen's limitation of the working day had been "the first preparatory step to the emanciation of the working class". Far from sounding the "death knell of English industry", it had given rise to an increase in money wages, a "great increase in the number of factory hands employed, a continuous fall in the prices of their products, a marvellous development in the productive powers of their labour, an unheard of progressive expansion of the markets for their commodities". Marx pointed out that he had heard Mr Newmarch confess that he and all the other "official propounders of economic science had been wrong, while the instinct of the people had been right."[87]

Marx suffered an unusually difficult period in 1862. In March he ceased writing for the New York Daily Tribune and it was not until December that he began writing for *Die Presse*.[88] His financial situation was so desperate that he even considered working for a time as a railway clerk. In addition, he was having problems with a group of petty bourgeois refugees in London led by Gottfried Kinkel,[89] a German poet and journalist. He travelled to Manchester so that he and Engels could discuss with other comrades such as Karl Eichhoff,[90] who was living in Liverpool, the line that they should adopt in connection with Kinkel. On his return from Manchester towards the end of April after a stay of over three weeks, it became urgently necessary for Engels to send him money. He enclosed a postal order for two pounds in a letter and made it payable at Kentish Town Office.

Frederick Engels was also in a poor state. He remarked that

he had been unable to visit Woolf to recover a letter from Eichhoff which had been borrowed because he had been suffering from painful swellings for a few days. By the end of 1862, Marx's affairs were in a state of crisis. It was in January 1863, on a day when there was no coal or food in the house, that Marx received a letter from Engels telling him that Mary, his wife, had died.[91] Marx wrote a brief sentence in reply and then listed his own problems. This seeming lack of interest in his loss hurt Engels. He refrained from writing for a number of days and then wrote in a restrained way pointing out his surprise that Marx had not felt his bereavement more deeply. Marx realised how nearly he had caused an estrangement between them and wrote an immediate apology. Engels was appreciative and said that he was glad that he had not lost both his wife and his best friend at the same time. It was the only occasion that the friends found their interests diverging and the quarrel made each of them aware of their mutual dependence. Towards the end of 1863, when Marx was again very sick, he received a telegram from Trier to tell him of his mother's death. He immediately appealed to Engels for money to make the journey for the funeral. Whilst there, he inherited about eight hundred pounds and travelled back through Holland to make arrangements with his uncle, Lion Phillips who administered the estate. As soon as he reached England, he started to plan a visit to Manchester so that he could share his experiences with Engels.

On 12 March he planned to travel by train from Euston and arrive in Manchester about five oclock. He added that he would not wait for the weather to improve, but had had to delay because his carbuncles had started erupting in fresh places on his body. He only made a short stay and probably slept at 4 Tennant Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock where Elizabeth and Frederick had moved after Mary's death.

However, before very long Marx again made the journey to Manchester. Engels wrote to warn him early in May 1864 that their very dear comrade, Wilhelm Wolf, who had settled in the town and was building up a position teaching languages, had become seriously ill. "Poor Lupus suffers from hallucinations and leaps out of his bed".[92] He said that it was necessary for him to be supervised all the time to prevent him from doing himself an injury. Dr Gumpert diagnosed softening of the brain and held out little hope of recovery. Moreover, if he did manage to recover it was almost certain that he would be an idiot. Engels laid some of the blame on Dr Borchardt who had treated his headaches as gout and only started to revise the treatment when Wolff suffered increasing fits of amnesia.

On receipt of the letter, Marx travelled North and spent the week helping to care for Wolff until he died on 9 May. He made the funeral oration at the graveside in Ardwick Cemetery[93] and signed the burial register. To the surprise of all his friends, Wolff had managed to save over eight hundred pounds from his earnings—quite a significant amount at that time. He left it to Marx and for nearly a year it relieved Engels of the necessity to support the family. After the funeral, Marx stayed a few days longer with Engels and Elizabeth Burns at 4 Tennant Street and took the opportunity to meet and discuss the political situation with the friends and comrades who had attended Wolff's funeral. Karl Eichhoff came from Liverpool, Wilhelm Strohn[94] from Bradford and Ernst Dronke, the journalist and writer travelled from London. Marx also met Ernest Jones,[95] the Chartist and established a relationship with him which continued.

The following year, January, 1865, Marx followed up that contact when he spent a week with Engels who had moved to a new house at 86 Mornington Street. Although there was room to accommodate Marx, he apparently stayed in Engel's rooms at 58 Dover Street from where he wrote to the children. During the week, he discussed the German labour movement as well as the International Working Men's Association with Engels. The I.W.M.A. had been formed in the previous year and some exchange of ideas was necessary.

Whilst in Manchester, Marx persuaded Engels to write an article for *Der Social-Demokrat*[96] on Bismarck's army reorganisation. He did so, but it became too long for a newspaper article and was published as a pamphlet entitled *The Military Question In Prussia and The German Workers' Party*.[97] It was an analysis of the class forces then shaping up in Germany and called for the need to establish an independent workers party.

Towards the middle of September, Marx again suffered a bout of ill health. It was more than inconvenient because his work on Capital was nearing completion and he was anxious to finish the manuscript and take it to the publisher, Meissner[98] in Hambourg. At the end of October he travelled to Manchester for a week's break with Engels. They were deep in discussions on the Differential Calculus which they considered to be the basis of Dialectics. He returned to London refreshed in spirit and completed the manuscript of *Capital* before the year ended.

The first half of 1867 was given to the tedious work of preparing the manuscript for the printer and then proof-reading the galleys. It was a time consuming labour and Marx did not even find time to write to Engels with his usual frequency. He left

London on 10 April to take the completed work to Meissner with whom he worked to complete the proofs. Engels wrote to tell him that he was contemplating ending his business association with Godfrey Ermen when the contract between them ended in two years' time. He joined Marx in relief that the labour on the book was ended, "It always seemed to me that this accursed book which you gestated for so long was at the root of all your troubles and that you neither would nor could ever emerge from them until you had shaken yourself free of it. This everlasting unfinished thing exhausted you physically, mentally and financially, and I can very well conceive that, now you have rid yourself of this incubus, you will feel a different fellow altogether, more particularly since the world, when once you go into it again, does not look so dismal as it did before..."[99]

Engels' optimism was echoed by Marx who expressed due appreciation of the loyalty which had made the task possible. "Without you I could never have finished the work and I can assure you that it has always lain as a deadweight on my conscience that your splendid powers were left to waste and rust in commerce mainly for my sake and that, into the bargain, you had to share the experience of living through all my petty miseries".[100] The "petty miseries" awaited him on his return to England where the accumulation of debt was assuming unmanageable proportions.

Within a couple of days of his return, Marx was visited by an old friend of Joseph Weydemeyer, a Communist who had settled in America and who had tragically died the previous year. Mr H. Meyer[101] from St Louis broke his journey to the Continent especially to see Marx and Engels and convey Mrs Weydemeyer's greetings to them. Marx immediately siezed the opportunity to travel North with Mr Meyer and they accordingly left London on 21 May. The following day he addressed a letter to 'Lieber Fred' from Engel's house in Mornington Street where he had presumably settled, explaining the situation. Engels must have been out of Manchester but returned as soon as possible and the visit lasted until the beginning of June. Elizabeth Burns would have made the travellers welcome in Engels' absence.

In July, Engels went abroad and the Marx girls[102] left London to spend a seaside holiday with the Lafargues in Bordeaux. While the girls were away, Marx received the final sheet of the proofs of *Capital* and hastened to convey to Engels his warm appreciation of their collaboration. "It is thanks to you alone that this has been possible. Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I

embrace you, full of thanks... I salute you, my dear, beloved friend."[103]

The girls were escorted home by Paul Lafargue in September and he and Jenny became engaged. Marx said, "Now you are my daughter's fiance I must introduce you to Engels."[104] Accordingly they set out for Manchester on 13 September 1867 and the following day, *Das Capital*[105] was published in an edition of a thousand copies. In fact, although Marx lived for another sixteen years, the further volumes of *Capital* were completed and published by Engels after his death.

Marx left Lafargue in Manchester and therefore missed an event of some interest and significance. Not far from Mornington Street, a group of Irish Fenians attacked a prison van taking two Irish American revolutionaries from the Court in Town to the prison at Belle Vue. As they passed under the railway arch on Hyde Road, the van door was shot open and a police officer Sargeant Brett, was killed. The two Irishmen escaped. Lafargue, who was taken by Engels to see the place where it had occurred said that Engels' wife was "of Irish descent and an ardent patriot" and that she was "in continual touch with the many Irishmen in Manchester and was always well informed of their conspiracies." He went on to say that "More than one Sinn Feiner found hospitality in Engels' house and it was thanks to his wife that the leader in the attempt to free the condemned Sinn Feiners on the way to the scaffold was able to evade the police."[106] Although the leader of the ambush may have escaped, five arrests were made and by the end of the year, three of them, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, had been hung at the last public execution in Manchester. Marx made the Irish question a central issue at General Council[107] meetings. A Council resolution drafted by Marx was passed and sent to the Home Secretary describing the sentence as "an act of political vengeance".[108]

Lafague remained in Manchester for some days after Marx had left. He described the visit, "Engels lived with his wife and her niece, then six or seven years old, in a little house on the outskirts of the town. A few steps farther and you were in the fields." He also explained Engels' dual life, "on weekdays from 10-4 he was a business man whose main occupation was to deal with the firm's correspondence in several languages and to attend the Exchange. He had an official residence in the centre of the town where he entertained his business friends, but it was in his little house on the outskirts that he received his political and scientific friends, including the chemist Schorlemmer and Samuel Moore, who later translated the first volume of *Capital* into English."[109]

Lydia (Lizzie) Burns.

In 1868, there was a new departure. Marx took his youngest daughter Eleanor who was thirteen years old, for the first of three annual visits to Manchester. Marx had been exceptionally ill during the first part of the year even to the extent of being unable to work. He had, however spent time going through a "mass of statistics that would have been enough to make many people ill."[110] During that time, he was unable to earn much and that contributed to his embarrassing and frustrating situation. When the time came for his visit in May, Engels, as had become habitual, sent him the necessary cash by means of notes cut in half and despatched in different letters and also gave him full instructions concerning trains. He told Marx to be sure to come on Friday because he had Saturday afternoon free and would "be at home with everything ready."[111] Eleanor made friends with Elizabeth Burns, her niece Pumps and the servant, Sarah Parker and enjoyed herself so much that she came again the following two years. She and Engels had early established a close friendship and Eleanor was said to know by heart the six letters that he had sent her when she was ill.

The following year, Engels again sent three halves of £5 notes with a list of the trains and asked Marx to arrive by 3 at the latest so that they could eat together. The previous year, Engels had given up his rooms with Samuel Moore and decided to live at Mornington Street. The weather had already changed and gave promise of the heat wave that young Eleanor commented on in her letter to her sister, Jenny, "On Saturday it was so warm that we, that is Auntie and myself and Sarah, laid down on the floor the whole day drinking beer, claret, etc. Engels, poor fellow, was at a picnic where there were about thirty people." When he returned that evening, "he found Auntie, me, and Ellen, who was telling us Irish tales, all lying out full length on the floor with no stays, no boots and one petticoat and a cotton dress on, and that was all."[112] Although Frederick and Karl no doubt spent much of their time in discussion, they did make an effort to entertain young Eleanor and as she wrote to her sister, Jenny, "dear Papa is much better". She then recounted the programme of events and visits that were in progress, "On Friday, Engels, Papa, Moore, Jollymeier, Mrs Burns, Mary Ellen and I are going to Yorkshire to see a friend of Moore's and we're going to stay there from the Friday to either Sunday evening or Monday morning, won't it be jolly?"[113]

But before that exciting event, the family went to Belle Vue to see the fireworks, and Elizabeth Burns took Eleanor to the market where she saw the stall from which Kelly, the Fenian captain who escaped from the prison van, had sold pots. She com-

mented further that Mrs Burns had told her "a great many amusing things about 'Kelly and Daisy'" whom she knew well "having been to their house and seen them three or four times a week."[114]

The Yorkshire visit duly took place. Moore's friend was John Roche Dakyns. He was a geologist working on a survey in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Samuel Moore was also interested in geology as well as being a cotton merchant. Dakyns was living in a farmhouse close to Bolton Abbey where the family took tea with him. Marx wrote a vivid description of the occasion which was obviously thoroughly enjoyed by the whole party.[115]

Marx returned to London after the Yorkshire visit leaving Eleanor to stay in Manchester until 12 October. During that time she saw Engels' released from his servitude to the Ermen and Engels firm. She wrote, "I was with Engels when he reached the end of this forced labour and I saw what he must have gone through all those years. I shall never forget the triumph with which he exclaimed, 'For the last time!' as he put on his boots in the morning to go to the office. A few hours later we were standing at the gate waiting for him. We saw him coming over the little field opposite the house where we lived. He was swinging his stick in the air and singing, his face beaming. Then we set the table for a celebration and drank champagne and were happy..."[116] Engels himself commented to his mother on the following day, "Since yesterday I am a new man—and ten years younger. Instead of going to the gloomy city I took a walk for a few hours in the country. I am sitting at my desk in a comfortably furnished room where I can open the window without having smuts deposited by the smoke. There are flowers in my window and some in front of the house. Here I can work much better than in my dingy room in the office where I had a view of the courtyard of a public house."[117]

Engels' retirement meant that he was able to make Marx an annual allowance of £350. Although that did not cover Marx's expenditure, it must have given the family some security and relieved the abominable poverty which had dogged their lives for so long.

Engels continued living in Manchester until September 1870. During that period, Marx and Eleanor made one visit from 22 May until 23 June and Marx on his own for a week from 22 August shortly before Engels moved. However, Marx maintained connections in Manchester even after Engels left.

In 1873, Marx made his usual visit in early summer when he undertook treatment from Dr Gumpert. He took the opportunity of discussions with Samuel Moore and Karl Schorlemmer.

John Roche Dakyns.

Dakyns, he met fairly often in London because his father lived not far from Kentish Town. Later in that year, he visited Harrogate in late November and again made a trip to Manchester for another examination by Dr Gumpert with whom he dined. Gumpert found "a certain elongation of the liver."[118] He recommended a course of treament at Karlsbad, the fashionable Austrian spa.

By the middle of 1880, both Karl Marx and his wife, Jenny were ailing. They both travelled to Manchester to consult Dr Gumpert. Jenny was diagnosed as having cancer and she died in the following year.[119] Engels was under no illusion. As soon as he knew that Jenny was dead, he said that Marx was also dead. This was sadly prophetic and soon fulfilled. He lived for a further fifteen months in pursuit of health which eluded him. Engels continued to supply money to enable him to visit resorts in search of sunshine and dry weather. He visited the Isle of Wight, Algiers, Monte Carlo, Argenteuil and Enghien. Finally he again tried Switzerland and the Isle of Wight from which he hurried back to London when he heard that his oldest daughter, Jenny had died of cancer leaving five children. The death of his first born was the final blow and he only survived her by two months. He died in London on 14 March, 1883 shortly before his sixty fifth birthday. At his funeral, Karl Schorlemmer represented the Manchester friends whom Marx had known and whose company he had enjoyed on his many visits over nearly thirty years.[120]

APPENDIX I

Extract from letter from Karl Marx to Jenny 10 June 1869 Werke Vol 32 page 612 signed Old Nick[121].

I made up my mind to leave Manchester yesterday, but Engels, on the pretext that I had been ailing during the first week of my stay here, insisted that I should stay. He really is too nice to me, I could not resist his whim. During our three day excursion to the Devonshire Arms[122] in the neighbourhood of Bolton Abbey we made the acquaintance of a certain Dakyns, a geologist who is living in this district of Yorkshire to make a geological survey. By the way, you ought to know that a geological map of all England is being undertaken by order of the Government under the supervision of Professor Ramsey from Jermyn Street. Moore himself is a geologist. Through him, Engels and Schorlemmer got to know Dakyns who lives in a farmhouse[123] in the middle of the Yorkshire wilderness. This farmhouse used to be an old Abbey. It still serves as a chapel. We took ourselves off to this part of the world to see Dakyns in this queer corner. Dakyns looks like a German peasant of poor stature, with a constant broad grin on his face, a bit like that of a monkey. The shape of his head is notably British except his protruding upper teeth which remind me of the late Frauseiler.

His clothing is something like that of a scruffy and ill-clad yokel who completely neglects a tie and other accessories of civilisation which are foreign to him. The first impresion he makes on anyone is that of a rude rustic clown whose good heart stares out of his eyes and around whose lips a jovial smile plays—a well intentioned smile, but you would hardly credit him with any intellect.

He is however, a highly scientific man. Indeed he is an enthusiast for his science. His name is already beginning to penetrate a great swarm of rivals. He is as naive as a child without any show and always ready to communicate his scientific discoveries to the first person that wants to get it out of him, and in fact, there are always a few other geologists buzzing round him just to get money or kudos out of him by appropriating the results of his research.

We met him in fact in the society of two such fellows of whom one, named Ward was a shy retiring self-effacing youth and the other, named Green, a shameless brash pushing type. We took a meal in his farm in the room which lies directly above the chapel. Formerly this room had served the monks as a Common Room surrounded by thick walls with a view upon irregular trees and a group of hills like an amphitheatre, one higher than the other and enveloped in a blue veil by which Currer Bell[124] is so enchanted.

The room above the chapel at Barden Tower.

The Devonshire Arms Hotel, Wharfdale.

During the very cheerful and comfortable meal, despite the rustic simplicity, the singing of the young people in the Chapel penetrated the thick walls and came to us like singing from a great distance. It reminded me of the Christians singing in Faust[125]

Dakyns is a kind of unconscious Felix Holt. The Tories here like to call Felix Holt—The Rascal—not The Radical. Once a week, he invites the lads from the factory and entertains them with beer and tobacco nd talks to them about social questions. He is a "natural" Communist. I could not stop myself from making fun of him and warning him of any encounter with Frau Eliot who would immediately take possession of him and include him among her literary creations. He has already written to Moore to say he will become a member of the International so I brought him a membership card and he put down 10/- membership fee.

These men only get £150 a year and work very hard both mentally and physically. The Government would not be in a position to get these men at such a price if it were just a matter of competition, but most of them sieze the chance with enthusiasm to do research. They are in possession of papers which oblige every landowner and farmer to grant them entry to their estate to survey their land formation. Dakyns, who is full of pawky humour, goes into a farmer's yard, gets out his implements and starts work. When the farmer comes and shouts about the impudent intruder and tells him to get to the devil if he does not want to make acquaintance with his dog's teeth or to receive a thrashing with the flail, Dakyns acts as if he is completely indifferent. He carries on with his work and provokes the rustic with bad jokes. When the comedy reaches its climax, he produces his papers and the farmer is pacified.

During our stay, he gave me, as if I had called on him to get it, the last number of *The Fortnightly Review* with an article by Huxley in which the latter cheerfully castigates old Congreve. Dakyns is a declared enemy of the fallacies of the Positivist, Comte[126]. He counts my friend, Beesley among those who regard their whimsies as science. In the same number of the *Fortnightly* are two articles by Mill about Thornton's Capital and Labour. I clearly saw from the review that both are equally small fry. Dakyns is a neighbour of ours. He lives in Kilburn whilst in London, with his father who is a lawyer.

Old Nick[127]

APPENDIX 2
Marx's Visits To Manchester

1845 12 July-21 August In Manchester and London

1851 17-26 April
1851 5-15 November
1852 27 May-26 June
1853 30 April-19 May
1855 19 April-6 May
1855 12 September-3 December
1856 7 June-20 July
1858 6-24 May
1859 12 June-2 July
1860 16 February-25 March
1861 August and September
1862 30 March-25 April
1864 12 March
1864 3-19 May
1865 7-14 January
1865 20 October-3 November
1867 21 May-2 June
1867 13 September
1868 29 May-15 June
1869 25 May-14 June
1870 22 May-23 June
1870 22-30 August
20 September 1870, Engels moved to London
1873 22 May-3 June
1873 November
1877
1880 July

APPENDIX 3

Payments made by Engels to Marx

1851 £33
1852 £41
1853 £57
1854 £12
1855
1856 £10
1857 £70
1858 £61
1859 £52
1860 £159
1861
1862
1863
1864
1865
1866 £240
1867 Annual allowance of £350

These figures were culled from the Correspondence and are quoted in W.O. Henderson *THE LIFE OF FRIEDRICH ENGELS* Vol 1. Page 205. These payments do not account for money handed personally when they met, nor the money give to the Marx girls on occasion. It has been calculated from the Correspondence that Marx received about £4000 from Engels during his twenty years in Manchester.

Engels' Income from the firm of Ermen and Engels

1851 £200 (reduced in 1851 September to £150)
1855-1864 £100 per year + first 5% then 7½% of the profits which amounted to:—1854, £168; 1855, £163; 1856, £408; 1857, £834; 1858, £840; 1859, £959.
Capital withdrawn from the firm in 1869, £12,000 + £1,750 goodwill. This amounted to little more than the capital originally invested by the Engels family in the firm, so a hard bargain was driven.

Notes and References

[1] **Karl Marx: A Biography.** *Progress Publishers, Moscow.* 1973.P.71.

[2] **Reminiscences of Marx and Engels.** *Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.* ND. Article by Paul Lafargue page 90.
"...he (Engels) often told me that Marx had impressed everybody since his youth by the clearness and resoluteness of his character and that he was a real leader enjoying the full confidence of all even in matters which lay outside his sphere."

[3] **Frederick Engels—Paul and Laura Lafargue: Correspondence** Vol. 1 1868-1886. Page 23.

[4] **George Julian Harney 1817-1897.** Leader of the Chartist left wing and friend of Marx and Engels.

[5] **James Leach.** President of the National Charter Association and friend of Engels who bought the Northern Star and Miners' Advocate from Leach's shop in Oak Street, Manchester.

[6] **John Watts** 1818-1887. Owenite Socialist Missionary at the Hall of Science, Campfield whilst Engels was in Manchester 1842-44.

[7] The Hall of Science was built by the Owenites at Campfield. It fronted Byrom Street. It cost £7,000 and contained a lecture hall described by a contemporary observer as the finest and most spacious in the town.

[8] Carpenter's Hall. Built from the subscriptions of journeymen carpenters at a cost of £4,500. It was sited at the corner of Altrincham Street and Sackville Street. It was about 75 feet in length and the large hall could seat between five and six thousand people. It was built over three shops.

[9] Mary Burns was the daughter of Michael Burns, dyer and his first wife, Mary Conroy. During Engels' first two years in Manchester, 1842-44, Mary was almost certainly in service in the vicinity of Deansgate and near to the Hall of Science. She may have met him there. As a small child she had probably worked in a cotton factory. When Engels and Marx travelled to Manchester in 1845, they took Mary back to the continent with them. Engels lived a dual life in Manchester. He kept a private business address where he could meet his 'philistine' friends and shared a home with Mary Burns and her sister Elizabeth. The two girls kept a boarding house in

Burlington Street, Cecil Street and Grove House, Moss Lane. Mary, who was described as "pretty, witty and charming" died at 252 Hyde Road in 1863. Information about Engels' private life in Manchester with Mary and Elizabeth Burns is taken from unpublished research done by Roy Whitfield. See Bulletin of The Marx Memorial Library. Number 101 September 1982 Edmund and Ruth Frow: Robert Owen, Frederick Engels and Marriage In The New Moral World.

[10] **The Condition Of The Working Class In England From Personal Observations and Authentic Sources.** Engels collected material for this book during his first stay in England from 1842-1844. He was assisted by Mary Burns. On his return to Barmen in September, 1844, he completed the book which appeared in German in June, 1845. The first English Edition was published in America, translated by Florence Kelley-Wischnevetzsky in 1887 Edited by Engels himself. The first London Edition was published in 1892.

[11] Preface to Karl Marx: **The Poverty of Philosophy.** *London. Martin Lawrence.* ND. Page 9.

[12] The books consulted in Chetham's Library in 1845 were:—
D'Avenant: Essays Upon Peace At Home and Abroad 1704. Discourses On The Publick Revenues and On The Trade Of England etc. 1698.
Petty, William: Several Essays In Political Arithmetick. 1699.
Gisborne, Thomas: Inquiry Into The Duties Of Men In The Higher Ranks and Middle Classes of Society In Great Britain. 1795.
McCulloch, John Ramsey: The Literature of Political Economy. 1845.
Eden, Sir F. Morten: The State Of The Poor. 1797.
Aitken, John: Description of The Country from Thirty To Forty Miles Round Manchester. 1795.
Macpherson, David: Annals Of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries and Navigation 1805. (4 vols).

[13] **Thomas Jones, B.A.** (Oxen), F.R.S. 1810-1876. Educated at Jesus College, Oxford. Appointed Librarian at Chetham's Library in 1845, a position he held until his death in 1876.

[14] **Karl Marx: A Biography.** *Progress Publishers, Moscow.* 1973.P.89.

[15] **Pierre Joseph Proudhon.** 1809-1868. French writer and theoretician and one of the founders of modern anarchism.

[16] **Marx Engels Collected Works** *English Edition* (MECW). Vol. 6 Page 138. Karl Marx.: **The Poverty Of Philosophy,**

Answer To The Philosophy of Poverty by M. Proudhon.

[17] German Daily paper during the 1848/49 Revolution: Edited by Karl Marx. Published in Cologne from 1 June, 1848-19 May, 1849.
Marx already had considerable editorial experience and was therefore able to launch the publication of this large revolutionary daily within a short time. From the first there were financial difficulties because the middle class radicals did not give full support. The paper reflects the problems of workers as yet uncoordinated and unaware of their potential power as a class.

[18] F. Engels: **The Condition of The Working Class in England.** Translated by W.O. Henderson and W.H. Chaloner. *Oxford. 1958.* Pages 63-64.

[19] **The New Moral World:** A London Weekly Publication developing the principles of The Rational System of Society. Owenite journal to which Engels contributed. MECW Vols 3 and 4 from November, 1843 to May, 1845.

[20] **The Life of Thomas Cooper Written by Himself.** *Hodder and Stoughton.* 1886. Page 393.

[21] **MECW** Vol. 38. Page 255. Letter Engels to Marx 17 December, 1850.

[22] Owen's College: John Owen died in 1846 leaving a fortune to establish a University in Manchester. The College was opened in Cobden's house at the junction of Quay Street and Byrom Street on 12 March, 1867 with a staff of five professors and two teachers. Subsequently moved to the campus on Oxford Road.

[23] **Georg Weerth.** 1822-1856. German working class writer and poet. Member of the Communist League. Lived for a time in Bradford, Yorks.

[24] **Joseph Weydemeyer** 1818-1866. Prominent figure in the German and American working class movements. Close associate of Marx and Engels. Emigrated to U.S.A. after defeat of German revolution.

[25] **MECW** Vol. 39 Page 16. Engels To Joseph Weydemeyer. 23 January 1852.

[26] **Wilhelm Wolff** (Lupus) 1809-1864. German teacher prominent in the Communist League. An editor of Neue Rheinische Zeitung and close friend of Marx and Engels. Marx dedicated *Das Kapital* to Wolff, "the intrepid faithful, noble protagonist of the proletariat."
Wolff lived in Manchester from September, 1853 until his death ten years later. He was buried in Ardwick Cemetary

with Marx making the graveside oration. His grave was destroyed in 1959.

[27] For many years the exact locations of the homes that Engels shared with the Burns sisters were not known. Roy Whitfield, in his work on Frederick Engels in Manchester, found that he rented the houses under a pseudonym in each case, using Frederick Mann Burns, Frederick Mann and Frederick Boardman. Proof was established when a letter from Marx to Engels 27 May, 1862 asked for his regards to be conveyed to Mrs Boardman and sister. MECW Vol. 30 Page 243. Systematic research in the Rate Books and Directories unravelled the other addresses.

[28] Both Marx and Engels used the term 'philistine'. As scholars well read in Goethe, they used the word in the same sense that he did. "'A philistine' is an empty gut filled with fear who hopes that God will take pity on him."

[29] The Correspondence of Marx and Engels fills twenty three volumes of their Collected Works. They comprise Volumes 38-50 of which 38, 39 and 40 are available in English (June 1984).

[30] See Appendix 2.

[31] Dr. Edward Gumpert. Born 1834, died 1893.
Native of Eschwege/Kurhessen, Germany. Qualified at the University of Wurzburg in 1856. Settled in Manchester and became the consulting physician at the Clinical Hospital for the Diseases of Children. He was a leading member of the German community and a member of the Schiller Anstaldt.
Beiträge Zur Marx-Engels—Forschung, H10 Berlin 1981 P109/113.

[32] **MECW** Vol 38. Page 326. Marx to Engels 2 April 1851.

[33] **MECW** Vol 38. Page 335. Engels to Marx 15 April 1851.

[34] **MECW** Vol 38. Page 491. Marx to Engels 24 November 1851.

[35] The Engels family refused to support Frederich while he was engaged in revolutionary activity. However, when he agreed to return to Manchester in November, 1850 to become a clerk at Ermen and Engels, he was given a salary of £200 a year. This was reduced to £150 p.a. in September 1851. From 1855-1864 he received £100 a year plus 5½ and then 7½% of the profits which amounted to:—1854 £168; 1855 £163; 1856 £408; 1857 £834; 1858 £840; 1859 £959. He withdrew £12,000 + £1,750 from the firm in 1869.
It has been calculated that Marx received about £4,000 from Engels during the twenty years he was in Manchester. From 1867, Engels regularised the situation and made an

allowance of £350 p.a. The above figures taken from W.O. Henderson: **The Life of Friedrich Engels** Vol. 1 Pages 199 and 205.

[36] **Charles Anderson Dana** 1819-1897. American journalist and editor 1849-1862 of the New York Daily Tribune to which Marx and Engels contributed articles. The series of articles *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* were, until 1913, attributed to Marx. They were published in a separate volume in English by Eleanor Marx Aveling in 1896.

[37] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 20-21. Marx to Engels 24 January 1852.

[38] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 572 Jenny Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer. 27 February 1852.

[39] **MECW** Vol 11 Pages 395-457. Karl Marx: **Revelations Concerning The Communist Trial In Cologne.** *Basle.* 1853.

[40] First published by Weydemeyer in America in May 1852 under the title **The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon** in German. In English it was published in full in **The People** by The Socialist Labour Party of The United States in September and November 1898. **MECW** Vol 11. Pages 99-197.

[41] Harney's **Friend of The People** was a continuation of **The Red Republican** 7 December 1850-26 July 1851. Both were reprinted by the Merlin Press in 1966 with an introduction by John Saville.

[42] August Willich 1810-1878. Prussian Officer.
Karl Schapper 1812-1870. Both members of the Communist League who split away in 1850. Schapper later became a member of the International Working Men's Association.

[43] The rapid development of the railways made holiday trips very popular. In 1850, over two hundred thousand people left Manchester mainly to go to Blackpool and other sea-side resorts.

[44] **MECW.** Vol 39. Page 109. Engels to Marx 19 May, 1852. 'Dronkius' refers to Ernst Dronke 1822-1891: German journalist and an Editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung.

[45] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 113. Engels to Marx 24 May, 1852.

[46] Paul Lafargue: **Reminiscences of Marx and Engels.** Page 90.
Paul Lafargue wrote, "Engels and Marx had the habit of working together; although Engels carried exactitude to the extreme, he sometimes became impatient of the scrupulousness of Marx who would not put a sentence on

paper unless he could prove it in a dozen different ways." **The Great Men Of The Exile** was not published during the lifetime of Marx and Engels. Most of the Manuscript was in Engels' hand-writing with corrections by Marx.

[47] **MECW** Vol 39 Page 116. Marx to Jenny Marx 11 June, 1852.

[48] **MECW Vol 39. Page 579. Jenny Marx to Adolf Cluss 10 March, 1853. Adolf Cluss: 1825-1905: architect. Member of the Communist League who emigrated to America where he propagated scientific socialism.**

[49] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 287. Marx to Engels 10 March, 1853.

[59] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 319. Engels to Marx 26 April, 1853.

[51] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 322. Engels to Marx 27 April, 1853. Peter Albert Ermen 1802-1869. The founder of the Company retired due to ill-health in 1851 and Jacob Godfrey Ermen 1812-1899 took over the management of the firm.

[52] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 403. Marx to Engels 14 December, 1853.

[53] **Reminiscences of Marx and Engels.** Page 115. William Liebknecht.

[54] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 530. Marx to Engels 6 April, 1855.

[55/56] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 533. Marx to Engels 12 April, 1855.

[57] **Peter Imandt.** 1823-1897. German teacher. Member of the Communist League. Friend of Marx and Engels.

[58] Marx compares his enforced departure from London with the evacuation of the Southern Side of Sebastapol by the Russian troops on 28/29 August, 1855.

[59] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 550. Marx to Engels 11 September, 1855.

[60] See Note 26.

[61] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 550. Marx to Engels 11 September 1855.

[62] **MECW** Vol 14. Page 531. Marx and Engels. 26 September, 1855. **Events In The Crimea.**

[63/64] **MECW** Vol 39. Page 554. Marx to Moritz Elsner 8 November 1855.

[65] **Karl Freidrich Moritz Elsner:** 1809-1894. A Silesian weaver who became a radical journalist and Editor of the *Neue Oder Zeitung in the 1850's.*

[66] **Louis Borchardt.** 1813-1883. One of Engels' 'Philistine' friends. Practised in Breslau but fled the country after playing a part as a democratic agitator during the 1848 revolution. He settled first in Bradford and then in Manchester. He helped Wolff by finding him pupils when he arrived in Manchester. Wolff left him £100 in his will in gratitude. He became a popular children's physician and was

appointed Honorary Physician to the General Dispensary for Children. When Dr. Borchardt retired, a ward in the new children's hospital at Pendlebury was named after him.

[67] **Wilhelm Pieper** c1826-1899. German Philologist and journalist. Member of the Communist League and friend of Marx and Engels.

[68] **Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Werke.** *Dietz Verlag Berlin,* 1964. (referred to as Werke in subsequent notes). Vol 29. Page 61/62. Marx to Engels. 5 June, 1856.

[69] Jenny Marx's mother, Catherine Von Westphalen died on 23 July, 1856.

[70] **Werke:** Vol 29. Page 532-536. Marx to Jenny Marx in Trier. 21 June, 1856.

[71] **Werke:** Vol 29. Page 278-279. Engels to Marx 11 February, 1858.

[72] Grundrisse: **Foundations of The Critique of Political Economy** (Rough Draft). A series of seven notebooks roughly drafted by Marx for the purpose of self clarification during the winter of 1857-1858. First published in English by Penguin Books, 1973. Translated with a Foreword by Martin Nicolaus.

[73] Werke: Vol 29. Page 588. Engels to Jenny Marx. 11 May, 1858.

[74] **Wilhelm Liebknecht** 1826-1900: Took part in the 1848/49 revolution. One of the founders and leaders of the German Social Democratic Party.

[75] **Das Volk:** A German language newspaper published by Karl Heinzen in America in the 1850's.

[76] Schiller Anstalt established in 1860, the year after the 100th anniversary of Schiller's birth, at the Carlton Buildings, Cooper Street. Engels, Wilhelm Wolff and Carl Schorlemmer joined. Engels served on the Executive Committee in July, 1864 and shortly afterwards became Chairman. Charles Halle was Vice-Chairman. It was the centre of the cultural life of the German Community in Manchester and moved to Rylands House, Chorlton-on-Medlock.

[77] **Albert Club.** Established in Clifford Street in 1842 by a group of young Germans working in Manchester. Moved in 1859 to larger premises at junction of Dover Street and Oxford Road. The membership was about half German and half English. Engels, Godfrey Ermen, Dr. Borchardt and Dr. Gumpert were among the Germans and Samuel Moore was one of the Englishmen.

[78] The Thatched House Tavern, now demolished, was in

Newmarket Place, off Market Street.

[79] **Carl Schorlemmer.** Born Darmstadt 1834-1892. Chemist who worked with Professor Roscoe at Owens College. Chairman of the group who met for discussion at the Thatched House Tavern. Became very friendly with Marx and Engels. Was elected Fellow of The Royal Society 1871. In 1867 assisted in correcting the proofs of the first volume of **Das Kapital.** Member of the International Working Men's Association.

[80] **Samuel Moore.** 1838-1912. Textile Merchant, Barrister and Linguist. Friend of Engels and Marx. He did most of the translation of Volume I of **Capital** into English. Member of The International Working Men's Association.

[81] **John Roche Dakyns.** 1836-1910. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge where he probably met Samuel Moore. Geologist and Mathematician.

[82] **Karl Vogt** 1817-1897. German Natural Scientist. Deputy to Frankfurt National Assembly 1848/49. Marx's exposure of Vogt as a Police Agent was confirmed many years later in documents from the Paris Police archives.

[83] **Werke** Vol 30. Page 129. Engels to Marx 19 December, 1860.

[84] All Marx's and Engels' Manuscripts will be published in the language in which they were written in the **Gesamtausgabe (Mega)** which is being prepared in the Institutes of Marxism-Leninism in Berlin and Moscow.

[85] Manchester Guardian 7 September, 1861.

[86] **Documents Of The First International.** Volume I 1864-1866. Pages 109 and 111.

[87] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. **Selected Works** Vol I. *Moscow 1955*. Page 406. The lecture was found after Marx's death by his daughter, Eleanor, who first published it under the title, **Value, Price and Profit. CAPITAL Vol. 1: Part 3 Chapter 9 Section 3 Senior's "Last Hour".**

[88] **Die Presse.** Liberal paper published in Vienna and read in Austria and Germany. It published a number of articles by Marx in 1861/62.

[89] **Gottfried Kinkel** 1815-1882. German poet and journalist who took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising in 1849. In Britain, an opponent of Marx and Engels.

[90] **Karl Wilhelm Eichhoff** 1833-1895. German Socialist and journalist who exposed Stieber as a Police spy in the press. Member of the International Working Men's Association. Lived in England 1861-1866.

[91] **Werke** Vol 30. Page 309. Engels to Marx 7 January, 1863.

[92] **Werke** Vol 30. Page 397. Engels to Marx 2 May, 1864.

[93] Ardwick Cemetery was opened on 13 April, 1838 and demolished in 1959.

[94] **Wilhelm Strohn.** Member of the Communist League resident, for a time, in Bradford, Yorks.

[95] **Ernest Charles Jones** 1819-1869. Chartist, Poet and Lawyer who was one of the leaders of the left. Editor of **Notes To The People** May 1851-May 1852 and **The People's Paper** May 1852-September 1858. Published articles by Marx and Engels.

[96] **Der Social—Demokrat:** published in Berlin by Johann Baptist Schweitzer, a Frankfurt lawyer.

[97] **Werke** Vol 16 Pages 37-78.

[98] **Otto Karl Meissner** 1819-1902. Details of the arrangements made between Marx and Meissner are contained in A. Uroyeva: **For all Time All Men.** *Moscow 1969.*

[99] **Werke** Vol 31. Page 292. Engels to Marx 27 April, 1867.

[100] **Werke** Vol 31 Page 323. Marx to Engels 16 August, 1867.

[101] **Siegfried Meyer** 1840-1872. German mining engineer and Socialist who went to America and helped to form a section of the International Working Men's Association.

[102] **Jenny Marx** 1844-1883 Married Charles Longuet.
Laura Marx 1845-1911 Married Paul Lafargue.
Eleanor Marx 1855-1898 lived with Edward Aveling.

[103] **Werke** Vol 31. Page 323. Marx to Engels 16 August, 1867.

[104] **Reminiscences of Marx and Engels.** *Moscow.* Paul Lafargue Page 87.

[105] **Das Kapital:** *Hamburg.* Verlag von Otto Meissner. 1867. New York L.W. Schmidt.
First English edition. **Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production.** *Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey and Co.* 1887. Translated from the third German edition by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling and edited by Frederick Engels. 2 vols.
500 copies were printed in Perth. 250 were bound and sold in England and 250 were sent unbound to U.S.A. where they were bound and sold by Julius Bordollo, New York.

[106] Lafargue was mistaken. The two Fenian prisoners who were released from the horse drawn prison van on 18 September 1867 were being taken from the Magistrates Court in Manchester to the prison at Belle Vue, not (immediately) to the scaffold.

[107/108] **Documents of The First International, 1866-1868.** Vol II *Lawrence and Wishart.* Page 179. Memorial Of The General

Council Of The International Working Men's Association.

[109] **Reminiscences of Marx and Engels.** *Moscow.* Paul, Lafargue. Page 88.

[110] **Werke** Vol 33. Page 538. Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann. 6 March, 1868.

[111] **Werke Vol 32. page 94. Engels to Marx 25 May, 1868.**

[112] **The Daughters of Karl Marx:** *Andre Deutsch* 1982. Introduction by Sheila Rowbotham. Eleanor to Jenny 20 July, 1869. Page 51.

[113/114] As 112. Eleanor to Jenny 2 June, 1869. Page 49.

[115] **Werke** Vol 32. Page 612. Karl Marx to Jenny Marx 10 June, 1869. See Appendix I. The visit to Bolton Abbey took place from 4-8 June 1869.

[116] **Reminiscences of Marx and Engels.** *Moscow.* Eleanor Marx. Page 185/186.

[117] **Werke** Vol 32. Page 615. Engels to Elizabeth Engels. 1 July, 1869.

[118] Saul K. Padover: **Karl Marx, An Intimate Biography.** *New York,* 1978. Page 529.

[119] Saul K. Padover: **Karl Marx, An Intimate Biography.** *New York,* 1978. Pages 567/568. Jenny Marx died on 2 December, 1881 of cancer. Marx was to ill to attend the funeral. Engels officiated and said, "This noble-hearted lady... not only shared the fortunes, the work and the battles of her husband, but also participated in them with the highest understanding and with the utmost glowing passion."
Jenny Marx gave birth to six children between 1844 and 1856 of whom only the three girls lived beyond childhood.

[120] Marx was buried at Highgate Cemetery on 17 March, 1883. Engels said in his graveside oration,
"For Marx was before all a revolutionist. His real mission in life was the overthrow of Capitalist society. Fighting was his element and he fought with a passion, a tenacity, and a success such as few could rival... His name will endure through the ages, and so will his work!"
Engels was reported, by Eleanor Marx, as saying "In Marx's lifetime I played second fiddle, and I think I have attained virtuosity in it and I am damned glad that I had such a good first fiddle as Marx." Reminiscences Page 188/189.

[121] **Werke** Vol 32. Page 612. Karl Marx to Jenny, 10 June, 1869. This letter was written in English, but this copy is a translation from the German text.

[122] The Devonshire Arms Hotel Bolton Abbey, Skipton is in the Yorkshire Dales National Park and now stands at the

junction of the B6160 and A59.

[123] The farmhouse at Barden Tower is on the Duke of Devonshire's estate. The Tower was enlarged in 1453 and the Chapel and Priest's House were added. The same family were tenants for over three hundred years until c1980. Dakyns lodged there whilst carrying out the geological survey of the area.

[124] Charlotte Bronte (Currer Bell): Shirley. Chapter XII. "The distant hills were dappled, the horizon was shaded and tinted like mother-of-pearl; silvery blues, soft purples, evanescent greens and rose shades, all melting into fleeces of white cloud, pure as azury snow, allured the eye with a remote glimpse of heaven's foundations."

[125] Goethe's Faust translated by Albert G. Latham. J.M. Dent and Sons Everyman Edition, 1926. Part I, Scene I. Pages 22-24. Choir of Angels.

[126] **Auguste Compte**1798-1857. French philosopher and founder of Positivism, a brand of subjective idealism.

[127] There was a cult of nicknames in the Marx circle. eg.:—
Marx: Old Nick, Challey, Moor.
Jenny Marx: (daughter) The Emperor, Joe.
Laura Marx: Karadou (German for Cockatoo)
Eleanor Marx: Tussy.
Engels: The General, Mr. Chitty.
Schorlemmer: Jollymeyer, Chlormeier.
Lafargue: Benedict, Toole.

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